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Mod Men: The Contemporary Mod Subculture Online

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Abstract

Fashion commodities played a key role in the construction of Mod subcultural identities during the 1960s, but how do we account for the fact that individuals continue to employ similar commodities to construct subcultural looks five decades later? This paper investigates how present-day members of the Mod subculture engage with fashion commodities, employing virtual ethnography to study an online forum for Mods referred to as 'Modforum.' I engage with debates in the study of subculture, arguing that while the age and class make-up of the contemporary Mod subculture differs greatly from that postulated in the 1970s by the researchers at University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, the continued commitment of contemporary 'Mod Men' to an authentic subcultural style means that this group cannot be characterised as post-subcultural. I make the case for adapting the literary and queer studies scholar Judith Halberstam's notion of 'queer time,' devising the term 'subcultural time' to conceptualise the way in which subcultural participation extends beyond youth for contemporary members of the Mod subculture. I describe how the quest for the 'right' garments, those that accurately reproduce not just the appearance but the ethereal essence of Mod, characterises the online discussions of this predominantly male and heterosexual subculture. Furthermore, the centrality of online shopping to the Mod subcultural experience intensifies the postmodern blurring of the lines between leisure and consumption. As consumption of fashion commodities moves from the street to the screen, so too does the display of subcultural stylisation, and I explore contemporary Mods' mediated display of subcultural outfits. The disjuncture between these practices and dominant notions of masculinity is interpreted by way of the cultural historian Frank Mort's concept of the 'homosocial gaze' and the sociologist Sean Nixon's dual-articulation of 'the look.'

Key Words

Mod, subculture, commodification, consumption, men's fashion, identity, masculinity, sexuality, online shopping, online sociality, leisure.

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1. Introduction

In the popular imagination, Mod is inexorably intertwined with the temporal-spatial milieu of 1960s Britain. At the same time, the subculture's image and aesthetic seem to circulate endlessly through popular culture. Every year a new clothing collection references Mod in some way, either explicitly in its publicity material or aesthetically in its design. Today, those brands that played a historical role in the 1960s subculture, such as Fred Perry and Ben Sherman, trade on the authenticity that this lends them, making use of Mod iconography like the RAF roundel and the Italian motor scooter in their brand imagery. It is not just in fashion that Mod continues to be referenced. The recent re-make of the film *Brighton Rock* shifted the narrative to the 1960s in order to style the characters as Mods. At the 2012 Olympics closing ceremony, fifty Mods circled the stadium on scooters as the indie band *The Kaiser Chiefs* performed a song by *The Who*, a band that was closely associated with the Mod subculture during the 1960s. This riot of historicity and pastiche seems to support the anthropologist Ted Polhemus' argument that while the working-class youth subcultures of the late modern (post-World War II) era were determined by social structure and concerned with authenticity, we now have postmodern 'style tribes' who assemble their patchwork identities in the 'supermarket of style.'[1] In Polhemus' view, subcultures have become nothing but collections of signifiers to be ransacked and re-arranged by postmodern consumer-subjects in the on-going construction and performance of identity. While this may be the case within the broader culture of street style, it does not account for the persistence of Mod as a clearly-delineated subculture concerned with the maintenance of an authentic subcultural identity.

The persistence of Mod in what one might call a modern formation challenges such postmodern theories of subculture. The modern/postmodern dichotomy is further complexified by the central role that the internet (a medium closely associated with postmodernism) plays within contemporary subcultures,[2] including the Mod subculture.[3] In order to investigate this phenomenon I employed virtual ethnography to study one the most popular online forums used by members of the Mod subculture. The forum was frequented mainly by British members of the subculture but was also used by Mods from all over the world. It was active from 2006 until 2011, when it was closed by the site's owner. I refer to it in this article as 'Modforum' in order to protect the privacy of its users. Users' names have also been omitted to protect their privacy.[4] Virtual ethnography is a form of ethnographic research that involves the experiential, rather than physical, displacement of the researcher to a virtual research site.[5] It treats online research sites as places

rather than texts, placing emphasis on the researcher's immersion in the day-to-day activity of an online research site. Online forums such as Modforum lend themselves to this methodology because unlike blogs, which are authored, online forums are participatory spaces for discussion.[6] When the researcher reports findings, the textual nature of these research sites allows a presentation of the research subjects' experiences in their own words.[7] As such, quotes from the forum are reproduced here without any correction to spelling, punctuation or grammar, and I have chosen not to use the cumbersome and repetitive [sic]. I carried out my research over the course of four months in 2011, observing both the daily activity of the forum and archived discussions of particular relevance. I found that despite the potential for anonymity and the ability to 'play' with one's identity online, the users of Modforum revealed much about themselves in their discussions. The tendency towards self-disclosure in online forums provided rich material for qualitative analysis of the dynamics of the online Mod subculture.[8]

In this article I will first contextualise my research by providing an overview of the Mod subculture and of subculture studies. I will then describe how the age and class make-up of Modforum participants contradicts what was postulated in the 1970s by scholars at the University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in their work on working-class youth subcultures. The CCCS approach to subcultures has since been dispensed with by scholars of youth culture in favour of 'post-subcultures' approaches, but post-subcultural theory is unable to account for my finding that Modforum users are committed to creating cohesive and authentic subcultural identities. These identities are constructed and maintained largely through the use of fashion commodities, and in the section that follows, I describe the centrality of consumption within this predominantly male, heterosexual subculture. Finally, I explore how the behaviours I observed on the Modforum website diverged markedly from dominant contemporary notions of Western masculinity.

2. A Brief History of Mod

DAILY SKETCH
Tuesday, May 19, 1964 Price Threepence WEATHER: Sunny and warm
Bensons
FRUIT BONBONS
Beach crowds take cover from battling Mods and Rockers
WILDEST ONES YET
SKETCH REPORTERS
THE Wild Ones of Whitsun went even wilder yesterday. Out came the knives at Margate—and three young men were stabbed.
AT BRIGHTON police arrested 75 rioting teenagers.
AT BOURNEMOUTH 20 youths were taken to police headquarters after a sea-front fight. All will appear in court today. While they were being charged police were rushed to the Winter Gardens concert-hall, where 200 teenagers smashed windows. About 20 more were arrested.
Heroine of the day was Margate railway buffet cleaner Mrs. Ellen Green.
She is 56. And she routed 300 teenage youths and girls—with a mop.
All day it was the same story. Attacks on police. Vandalism. Violent clashes
Back Page
EUCRYL
TOOTH POWDER
WHITE
TOOTH POWDER
GUARANTEED
WHITER TEETH
DOUBLE YOUR MONEY BACK OFFER
Mods wield deckchairs. Two leather-jacketed Rockers jump 15ft. to safety. This happened yesterday at Brighton.
© John Frost Newspapers

Image 1: Mods and Rockers grab national headlines, 1964, courtesy of John Frost Newspapers

The early-1960s Mods were one of a number of stylised working-class youth groups that emerged in Britain during the post-war period. They followed the first of these groups, the Teddy Boys of the 1950s. The Teddy Boys dressed in tailored Edwardian clothes and listened to American rock'n'roll, contributing to the development of the teenage market in Britain.[9] The Teddy Boys passed their musical tastes on to the motorcycle-riding, leather-clad Rockers of the 1960s. Rival youth group the Mods shared the Teddy Boys' passion for tailored clothing but drew on a far more diverse range of influences.[10] These included the British rhythm'n'blues scene, the American Ivy League

look, Italian fashion and the French aesthetic of films like Goddard's *À bout de soufflé* (1963). A distinctive and coherent look coalesced from this mixture of styles - it was trim, clean, neat and highly contemporary. The subculture's name was derived from its antecedents, the late 1950s London followers of 'modern jazz' known as Modernists.[11] This lineage tied the Mods to the visual aesthetic of modernism,[12] but Mod was also short for 'modern,' referring both to the style's newness and its place in modernity.[13] While there were female Mods, it was a male-driven style. A number of commentators have observed that there was a sexual ambiguity to the highly-narcissistic Mods, some of whom shopped at the gay clothier Vince Man's Shop, wore what were considered to be effeminate clothes, sported eye makeup, visited hair salons and eschewed girls in favour of amphetamines.[14]

The Mods swelled in numbers throughout the mid-1960s, having rocketed to prominence during the spring of 1964 when spectacular seaside clashes with Rockers grabbed national headlines in the United Kingdom (Image 1).[15] The Mod's garments were often purchased from American and Italian clothing importers or designed by Carnaby Street boutiques then copied by local tailors,[16] but recognisable clothing brands associated with the look include Levi's, Clarks, Adidas, Ben Sherman and Fred Perry. Among the most iconic elements of the look are the fitted 3-button suit, the M-51 'fishtail' parka, 'hipster' trousers, the knitted polo, the 'Harrington' jacket, the button-down shirt, the penny loafer and the desert boot.[17] The former-CCCS researcher John Clarke describes how the 'whole mid-60's explosion of 'Swinging London' was based on the massive commercial diffusion of what were originally essentially Mod styles.'[18] Soul and British beat groups provided the soundtrack to the Mod lifestyle, which involved going out to clubs and gigs almost every night of the week.[19] The cultural theorist Dick Hebdige described the Mods as 'working-class dandies' who dressed like they were upwardly mobile, preferring the office to the factory, but typically holding a servile position in a smart place of work such as an office in London's West End.[20]

The original Mods faded away at the end of the 1960s as the subculture bifurcated into the pop art experimentalism of the psychedelic scene and the more austere purism of Skinhead.[21] The subculture was revived a decade later when Punk's plundering of subcultural influences reawakened interest in its constituent elements.[22] The contemporary Mod scene is actually an extension of this late 1970s Mod Revival, which was precipitated by both the release of the *The Who*'s nostalgic Mod film *Quadrophenia* (1979) and the massive popularity of Mod-influenced punk band *The Jam. The Jam* inspired an entire music genre known as Mod Revival: a hybrid of punk, powerpop, soul and 1960s beat music which included such bands as *The Lambrettas*, *The Purple Hearts* and *The Chords*. Revival Mods wore the same style of clothes as the original Mods and danced to the same music, but because it was a revival movement, this new form of Mod was more rigidly defined than its predecessor. With pictorial records of the original Mod era to pour over for sartorial details and fanzines articulating a more codified subcultural look and lifestyle, the Mod Revival was more resilient to the vagaries of fashion, allowing the Mod subculture to become a global, albeit Anglophile, phenomena that persists to this day.[23] As communications scholar Christine Jacqueline Feldman observes in her exhaustive study of Mod, the Revival was the main entry point for those who continue to be involved in the subculture today.[24]

3. Mods and the Study of Subcultures

The original Mods entered the academic discourse in 1972 with the sociologist Stanley Cohen's seminal *Folk Devils and Moral Panics.* In this work, Cohen used the media response to the clashes between the Mods and Rockers to illustrate how 'moral entrepreneurs' start moral panics in response to 'folk devils' who challenge the values of the social order. The Mods and Rockers were the folk devils in question, but the focus of Cohen's study was on moral panics rather than folk devils.[25] It was not until the 1975 edition of the *Working Papers in Cultural Studies* series produced by Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) that the Mods themselves became the subject of analysis.[26] This work, published the following year as *Resistance through Rituals*, along with Paul Willis' 1978 *Profane Culture* and Dick Hebdige's 1979 *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, turned scholarly attention to 'subcultures,' a term originating in the Chicago School of Sociology's pre-war research on deviance.[27]

Moving beyond an exclusive interest in deviance, the CCCS researchers applied the term 'subculture' to describe the stylised working-class youth groups that rose to prominence in post-war Britain; among these were the Teddy Boys, Mods, Rockers and Skinheads. These style-based subcultures were described by the CCCS researchers as a double articulation against both the parent culture of the working-class and the dominant culture of the bourgeoisie. The term 'parent culture' can be understood literally, as these subcultures were made up exclusively of the young. The Birmingham researchers were particularly interested in the generational clash brought on by post-war working-class affluence, as the working-class teenagers of this period were the first to break away from the traditions of their communities. With unprecedented levels of disposable income, they distinguished themselves from their parents' generation through fashion, music and leisure pursuits. In the CCCS rubric, only working-class youth groups were categorised as subcultures; they excluded hippies, for example, because of their ostensibly middle-class background.[28] This treatment of subcultures as working-class youth groups caught up in a struggle drawn along lines of both class and generation allowed for subcultures to be read as 'always oppositional.'[29] Subcultures, the CCCS researchers theorised, emerged from the struggle between the subordinate and the dominant culture and thusly constituted a working-class response to domination. The Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony was employed to conceptualise the experience of subculture as part of a wider class struggle for power taking place within the realm of culture.[30] This

theoretical position was consistent with a wider movement towards cultural Marxism by radicals disillusioned with trade unionism and socialist party politics, the traditional vehicles for class struggle.[31] Subcultures were described as rigidly-bounded, homogenous groups with cohesive sets of styles, slang, tastes and concerns. Authenticity was treated as a chief concern, with subculture members constituting a sort of stylistic vanguard for the whole of working-class youth, their subcultures dissipating only when their distinctive styles were lost to the recuperation of commodity culture.[32]

Image 2: 'Mods' on scooters; 1964, courtesy of Museum of London

The members of the subcultures addressed in the work of the CCCS were not simply working-class and young, they were highly-stylised. For this reason, subcultural theory remains pertinent to scholars of fashion. Members of the CCCS employed Barthes' system of semiotics to read subcultural fashions as texts and to decode what these fashions signified.[33] In the case of the Mods, Hebdige read their hedonistic lifestyle of amphetamines, scooters, R&B clubs and shopping as a way of expressing total domination in the sphere of leisure, a response to the experience of class domination and generational domination in the spheres of culture, work and family (Image 2).[34] The structuralist Claude Levi-Strauss' concept of *bricolage* was central to the CCCS theorising about subcultures and he was used to describe how subculture members re-order and re-contextualise cultural objects in order to construct distinct stylistic *ensembles* that communicate new meanings.[35] This process of subcultural stylisation was described as a subversive act because it involved re-inscribing commodities with new meanings; Hebdige went as far as to describe subcultural stylisation as a type of 'semiotic guerrilla warfare.'[36] In the case of Mod, this process involved mixing traditional and fashionable garments in a subtly subversive manner, looking 'a little *too* smart.'[37] This approach found subcultures to be resistant and even 'heroic' in their subversive bricolage, with the CCCS researchers arguing that stylisation was a sort of 'imaginary solution' to contradictions within the class system.[38] The CCCS acknowledged the limitations to this symbolic resistance, describing how subcultures lose their symbolic meaning as they are recuperated though two concurrent processes of commodification: 'diffusion' (where so-called 'street' fashion styles diffuse into the wider fashion market) and 'defusion' (where the radical potential of subcultures is defused through commodification).[39]

The CCCS approach to youth culture was highly innovative in focusing attention on youth cultural activity in the sphere of leisure and its validation of the cultural formations of otherwise marginal groups. However, critics have rightly pointed out that this work was methodologically unsound and theoretically over-determined. The sociologist David Muggleton describes how the CCCS researchers' neo-Marxist framework caused them to eschew traditional ethnographic methods in favour of semiotic analysis, with findings made to fit their theoretical perspective.[40] Gary

Clarke, a later CCCS researcher, critiques the CCCS for treating subcultures as essentialist, static entities rather than porous, heterogeneous groupings of individuals. Using this rigid theoretical framework and searching for radical potential in subcultures, the CCCS overlooked the class diversity of subcultures in order to read them as the resistance of the dominated working class.[41] Stanley Cohen, in the introduction to the second edition of *Folk Devils*, is particularly scathing in his critique of this 'heroic' reading for treating each act of stylisation as subversive.[42] The fashion historian Caroline Evans notes that this treatment of subcultures as static groups 'fixes' the fluid, performative identities of individuals to their subcultures.[43]

Also problematic is the CCCS researcher's un-nuanced treatment of commodities and consumption. In the emergent stages of a subculture, shopping for clothes is presented as part of the subversive act of *bricolage*, but once the subcultural look becomes popular by means of diffusion and defusion, commodification means that subcultural styles are robbed of their symbolic meanings.[44] For the CCCS, commodification was the enemy of the authentic, subversive experience of subculture. This approach to subcultural commodities and consumption has been challenged by a number of scholars. The cultural theorist Angela McRobbie's essay 'Second Hand Dresses and the Role of the Rag Market' highlights the positive role of commodities within subcultures, arguing that researchers have overlooked the importance of subcultural entrepreneurialism and under-theorised the role of shopping.[45] The media scholar Andy Brown argues that participation in the Heavy Metal subculture actually occurs *through* the purchase of commodities (in this case, Heavy Metal t-shirts), which members use to differentiate themselves from other youths.[46] He describes the subcultural experience as a commodified one from the get-go, 'a commodified experience ...made possible by the uses to which youth-oriented commodities are put by subcultural consumers.'[47] Similarly, in his study of the Goth subculture, the sociologist Paul Hodkinson describes how 'as well as operating as a means to an end, in terms of developing a personal appearance and offering subcultural connections, shopping was often a fulfilling subcultural activity in its own right.'[48]

In the wake of such critiques, the concept of subculture has been dispensed with by a new generation of researchers working in an epoch characterised by postmodernism's blurring of boundaries, fluidity, fragmentation, pastiche, historicity and simulacra. These researchers make the case for 'post-subculture' studies, stating that the impossibility of authenticity and the fragmentation of culture have made subcultures a thing of the past.[49] The music scholar Andy Bennett draws upon the sociologist Michel Maffesoli, arguing that instead of subcultures, we now have 'neo-tribes' that are merely 'temporal gatherings' with 'fluid boundaries and 'floating memberships.'[50] Also citing Maffesoli, Polhemus speaks of 'style tribes' with ever-changing identities, constructed through pastiche and nostalgia, drawing from subcultural signifiers in the 'supermarket of style.'[51] A post-subcultures approach provides a fresh set of theoretical tools with which to study, for example, the postmodern dance music cultures and digital cultures that emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s. However, post-subcultural theories tend to over-state the totalising power of postmodernism; their emphasis on discontinuity seems to ignore the persistence of some of the facets of subcultures described by the CCCS. This was confirmed by Modforum users' continued concern for authenticity and subcultural identity, which I will describe in Section 6. For this reason, I have chosen to continue to use the term 'subculture' to describe distinctively-stylised groups like the Mods.[52] 'Subculture' remains a useful term in spite of the disjuncture between CCCS subcultural theory and the demographic characteristics of Modforum, which I will turn my attention to now.

4. Class and Age

Over the course of my virtual ethnography it became evident that while the CCCS researchers argued that British subcultures are inherently working-class cultural formations, the contemporary Mod subculture has a mixed class membership. The mass diffusion of computer-literacy and connectivity means that internet use can no longer be taken as an indicator of class position and the text-based nature of virtual ethnography makes class difficult to observe. Nevertheless, the frank discussions of class on Modforum provided a great deal of insight into this aspect of the contemporary Mod subculture. A thread entitled 'Mod and the working-class' received a range of responses to the question of whether class was still a factor in the Mod scene. Most members seemed to feel that class was no longer important, with responses such as 'Ive known mods from every background, It is what it is.....,' 'Does it even matter?' 'Mod is just a lifestyle now, it's something that you become because you like it, not because you think it has some higher political or social meaning,' and

> Personally i think too much importance is placed in class. I'm from a traditional working class family (mum worked for the civil service & dad worked for the council) but i couldn't give a toss about it or do i place any importance on it in who i am. Although i do realise that alot of the origional mods were from working class backgrounds i think too much is made of that fact, as if your not a real mod if your not working class. I know plenty of younger sussed mod kids who are from quite well off middle class backgrounds so i think today it is pretty much irrelevant.

Comments such as these seem to support the arguments put forward in separate studies by Paul Hodkinson, Sarah Thornton and David Muggleton. All three revise the CCCS notion of subculture, arguing that in contemporary

subcultures, membership is determined by choice and commitment rather than by class.[53] The emphasis on how subculture members lived their subcultural lives, rather than where they came from, reflected what Thornton referred to as a 'fantasy of classlessness.'[54] For example, one user stated that:

> There is no class in Mod…thats the whole point...its not a rebellion against class....it has no consideration whatsoever of class....your only as good as your last suit, record, scooter whether your a peasant or royalty.

Despite the reduced importance of class in the contemporary understanding of the concept of subculture, it should be noted that many users continued to emphasise the role of class in the Mod subculture's lineage, arguing that the importance placed on smartness of appearance by them and their friends was an aspirational response to their working-class backgrounds. As the following quotes demonstrate, the self-reflexivity displayed by contemporary subculture members made it difficult to isolate users' opinions on the role of class in their subculture from academic interpretations:

> As for 'class' specifically... I hope to God that the consensus here doesn't emerge that Mod is a rejection of working class-ness. I'm working class and proud of it. I wouldn't say that Mod was a particularly middle-class scene - Dick Hebdige famously said that a mod was a "lower class dandy."

> For me Mod is a working class stand that stuck 2 fingers up at what people thought of the 'scruffy' working classes and by stealing the suited and booted look usually associated with the middle classes created their own style and subculture.

It was also evident from discussions about what to wear in the office or while meeting clients that a significant proportion of users held professional positions. Discussions of holidays and photographs of users' homes also strongly suggested that many users led middle-class lifestyles. At the same time, other users revealed that they worked in manual labour or service occupations. I found that the contemporary Mod subculture has a cross-class base, with class just one background factor rather than the determining one.

Image 3: Brixton 1963: Mods with their scooters, courtesy of Museum of London

If the Mod subculture is no longer a working-class one, and certainly not in any sort of conflict with the dominant culture, what of the CCCS tenet that subcultures *must* be youth cultures? It was immediately clear from my observation of Modforum that this was no longer the case, as the discussions demonstrated that subcultural participation continues to be important to members well beyond their teens and early twenties. It was apparent from the discussions on the forum that while subcultural participation typically began during adolescence, for many Mods it was a life-long commitment. Users' statements such as 'not into skinnier cuts, at 37 i am too old,' 'I`m 39 and dress pretty much the same as when i was an early teenager' and 'I Did the vintage thing in the '80's' made it clear that Mod is no longer a *youth* subculture. There was a general awareness among users of this fact. One user stated:

> According to Generation X, one lad stated that he was'too old to be a mod. You've got to be 16 to be a mod'. Let's face it, this forum is full of people babbling that 'it's a youth cult' 'I'm too old' etc. It may have started as a youth cult but it it really is now a way of life for some of us.

Photographs of Mod rallies and club events posted on the forum showed Mods in their 30s, 40s and 50s, engaging in the activities that we associate with the original Mod teenagers: dressing up in smart suits and shift dresses, drinking, dancing at sixties-style clubs and riding scooters (Image 3).

5. Subcultural Time

When the CCCS first spoke of 'youth subcultures,' there was no question that the subcultures they studied were a youth phenomenon. In the case of long-standing style-based subcultures like Mod, this is obviously no longer the case. As the sociologist Rupa Huq notes, youth culture 'has been appropriated into later life or "middle youth" by the adults reared on it.'[55] Subcultures nonetheless continue to be equated with youth culture, although the recently-published collection *Ageing and Youth Cultures* goes a long way towards addressing this issue.[56] In the case of Mod, the cultural studies scholar Janice Miller argues that the style's dandified use of traditional menswear make it a particularly attractive option for ageing men.[57] Christine Jacqueline Feldman's study of Mod includes a number of informants who are no longer youths yet continue to be active in the subculture.[58] She describes how the contemporary German Mod scene is 'increasingly populated by people who think and act youthfully, even if they are no longer young.'[59] However Feldman does not explore this issue in depth as her book is focused on the history of Mod as a youth culture.

For a more theoretical insight into the way in which subcultural participation continues for individuals beyond their youth, we can look to the literary and queer studies theorist Judith Halberstam. Writing about queer subcultures, Halberstam argues that because participants exist outside of normative heterosexual temporality structured by reproduction, they inhabit a queer temporality referred to as 'queer time.' Queer time disrupts dominant narratives of maturity and family as well as the binary opposition between youth and adulthood. Subcultural participation is treated here as a life-long commitment rather than a life stage.[60] Unfortunately, while intriguing, there are limitations to this approach. As well as overlooking the fact that some homosexual couples have children, Halberstam reverses heteronormative stereotypes by assuming that the lives of all heterosexuals are structured by the inevitable financial and lifestyle constraints of reproduction. All heterosexuals do not have children, and the recent publication of a number of subcultural parenting guides suggests that subcultural participation and parenthood are not mutually exclusive.[61] Nevertheless, I find Halberstam's argument that subcultural participation can disrupt dominant narratives of adulthood insightful and have adapted her concept of queer time to conceptualise the way in which adult members of the Mod subculture inhabit what I call 'subcultural time.'

This notion of subcultural time can be used to explain the way in which the users of Modforum remained passionate about pursuits that are stereotypically associated with youth such as underground music, subcultural fashion, scooter rallies and all-night soul clubs, rather than conforming to the dictates of presumably age-appropriate behaviour. Subcultural time disrupts the dominant narratives of 'growing up.' These narratives impose age-determined ways of inhabiting the cultural world, socialising individuals to give up aspects of their youth lifestyle. Subcultural time is of particular importance in regards to fashion, because it presents a challenge to both dominant notions of age-appropriate dress and the distinction between 'youthful' and 'mature' styles of dress. While ageing celebrities are often critiqued in tabloids and magazine for not dressing their age,[62] few bat an eyelid at adult Punks, Skinheads, Goths, Hippies, Bikers and so on dressing in what are essentially teenage styles. Subcultural time should not be confused here with protracted adolescence, as many of the Modforum users had children, partners and professions. From the discussions of shopping that took place in the forum, it was evident that users were often married or had live-in partners Recurring topics included buying clothes for partners, having bespoke suits designed for weddings, and hiding clothing expenses from disapproving partners. Modforum provides evidence of a subcultural temporality that disrupts the binary between 'fun' and 'maturity' contained within dominant narratives of ageing. Whereas Halberstam argues that queer time exists because freedom from family commitments allows members of the queer community the time and money to continue their youthful pursuits, what I observed on Modforum proved that for those who inhabit subcultural time, long-term partners and child-rearing are not always an obstacle to leading a subcultural lifestyle. This illustrated the importance of commitment to subculture membership.

6. Fashion Commodities, Stylisation and Authenticity

While the class conflict and generational conflict of the CCCS understanding of subcultures was missing from the Modforum community, a long-term commitment to the Mod subculture was not. This finding runs contrary to post-subcultural theories that argue that individuals today shop for identity in a 'supermarket of style,' adopting and discarding 'looks' and interests. I found that at least on the Modforum website, Mod Men have a continued interest in maintaining an authentic subcultural style identity.

They achieved this primarily through a process of stylisation employing fashion commodities. Down to the most nuanced sartorial details, users were concerned with assembling garments to get the look 'right.' There were countless threads on the forum about the 'correct' number of buttons on the cuff of a suit, the 'right' shoes to wear, what types of shirts were acceptable, and so on. Classic Mod subcultural brands that had diffused into the mass market, such as Fred Perry and Ben Sherman, were the subject of debate. Judged on their material and aesthetic merits, Fred Perry clothing was widely appreciated for maintaining its traditional styling, while Ben Sherman was widely derided for having defused into a brand that no self-respecting Mod would wear. What was, and was not, Mod was a persistent topic of discussion, with topics like 'Are flat-front chinos mod?' Items were considered to be 'wrong' if they were associated with other subcultures. For example, Doc Marten boots were 'too skinhead' while the brand Fila was 'too 80s Casual.' Disregarding Dick Hebdige's reference to class, his description of the original Mod as a 'lower-class dandy obsessed with the small details of dress' remains accurate.[63]

Modforum users' concern with getting subcultural stylistic details correct reflected their desire to present themselves to the world as fully-fledged members of a visibly-identifiable subculture. It was clear that most users considered themselves to be Mods and were committed to the subculture's visually distinctive style. Users made frequent proclamations such as 'MOD Till i Die' and 'Mod and proud of the fact!' Such concern for group identity and authenticity, along with the boundary-marking practices that it entailed, suggested a continuation of subcultural membership practices associated with modernity.[64] Moreover, there was a distinct absence of those postmodern traits associated with post-subcultures, such as pastiche and identity-play.

While users' commodity-driven stylisation reflected the concern for authenticity described by the CCCS, there was little to suggest that this involved any sort of subversion of dominant meanings. Instead, Modforum users followed a codified (albeit flexible) set of rules as to what constituted authentic subcultural style. It is true that users borrowed garments such as brogues and button-down shirts from the general cannon of menswear, but bringing these items into their subcultural ensembles did not require any kind of re-signification. These garments had already been part of the Mod style for decades. Nevertheless, I feel that we can rehabilitate some of the CCCS' semiotic analysis here. While arranging garments into a subcultural outfit may not have been a heroic oppositional gesture, it did require some 'work' at the symbolic level, as contemporary Mods had to wear the garments in such a manner that they would signify subculture membership. Firstly, the *right* garments had to be selected. Secondly, shoes had to be polished, trousers tailored, colours matched, and so on. Lastly, these garments had to be assembled correctly; it would not do to wear replica Adidas 'Tokios' with Levi's 'sta-prest' trousers. Looking 'in the know' served as a marker of what sociologist Sarah Thornton refers to as 'subcultural capital' - an embodiment of subcultural knowledge and experience through dress.[65]

The forum users' discussions and the photographs that they posted indicated that their subcultural self-stylisation was at least partly for the benefit of other Mods. In the tradition of Baudelaire's dandy, the sartorial details of the subcultural look were so subtle that users would simply be read as smartly-dressed by most members of the public.[66] Recognition required the gaze of another versed in the stylistic language of the subculture. To facilitate this recognition, there was a section of the forum entitled 'spotted,' where users described other Mods they had noticed while out and about, such as in this post:

> Outside Hastings train station on Tuesday evening, about 6pm.
> An older gentleman with a short and neat haircut, a grey and white knitted polo (YSL I believe), black Levis and brown Chelsea boots.
> Anyone on here at all?

In his seminal theory of fashion, Simmel argued that fashion represents a contradictory impulse towards individuality on the one hand and conformity on the other.[67] Over a century later, Simmel's theory remains as relevant as ever, for while Modforum users dressed to express belonging to their subcultural group, a persistent theme on the forum was the expression of individuality. Taking pride in one's appearance and dressing sharp were seen as a rebellion again the dress-down mores of today. In one forum thread, Mods both young and old bemoaned the lack of stylistic creativity among today's youth, describing them as 'sheep,' 'parrots' and 'trendies.' It was not just youth who received this critique, as the forum was full of complains about declining sartorial standards in the workplace. Colleagues were disparaged as 'sheep' because of their lack of dress sense and individuality. Users of the forum often described being made fun of for the way they dressed; for younger users this sometimes took the form of bullying and even assault, while for older users it tended to be a just gentle ribbing from friends and family. Responses in such discussions

emphasised the fact that Mods were doing what they wanted and looking good at the same time, with the joke being on their detractors. For example: 'It's wrong to take things like that to heart I think, otherwise your style is being dictated by a group of morons who believe themselves to be superior.'

Forum users emphasised the pride they took in 'being themselves' by dressing the way they wanted to dress, with the Mod style giving them confidence and self-assuredness. There was a distinct tone of self-superiority to this sense of individuality. One user stated that 'Now as I am 30 my dress sense is sharper my friends are redder and fatter and wear River Islands [a cheap high street shop] finest,' and comments about the fashion sense of the general public referred to them with descriptions such as 'tracksuit wearing dimlows.' While Mod stylisation may not be subversive in the traditional sense of the word, this rejection of dress-down values is arguably still subversive in its own subtle, individualistic way. We have here the legacy of the 1960s Mod who was just that bit little *too* well-dressed for work.[68]

The enjoyment and passion that users took in shopping was palpable throughout the forum, but this is not to say that they participated in mindless consumerism. Users expressed a strong preference for durability and were willing to pay extra for quality. This reflected a long-term commitment to their subcultural style as well as a disregard towards the disposability that sometimes characterises popular fashion. There was also a preference for items made in the European Union or America and for small-scale production. Users frequently rejected brands that were manufactured in countries like El Salvador and China due to concerns over poor labour practices and loss of artisanal heritage. Their stylisation was characterised by a degree of autonomy from dominant fashion as they were purchasing garments that fit into a highly-specific style vocabulary, rather than following trends. Modforum users' commitment to classic menswear was what Wilson would describe as 'anti-fashion.'[69] Fashion, as opposed to style, was widely-derided, with anything considered to be 'trendy' or fashionable excluded from the acceptable Mod wardrobe. Of course, the Mod look *was* fashion in the 1960s. It has come in and out of style at various junctures in the intervening decades and elements of the look are in fashion at the moment.

7. (Online) Consumption

Forum members' use of fashion commodities to construct and perform authentic subcultural identities was consistent with the findings of those researchers who argue that commodities play a key role in structuring the experience of subculture.[70] The forum's statistics console showed that 'Clothes and Fashion' was the most popular section of the forum. Discussion in this section were largely of the 'What is the best _____' or 'Where can I get _____' variety. This was largely a response to the fact that the commodities used by the 1960s *bricoleurs* are no-longer widely available, at least in the style preferred by Mods. These discussion threads elicited conversation about the items in question and information as to where they could be obtained. As the online word is thoroughly intertextual, discussion on the forum were full of hyperlinks to online stores. For example, a user might post a photograph of a 1960s Mod or a still from a 1960s film and ask where they could find one of the garments pictured. Fellow forum-members would then post hyperlinks to where something similar could be purchased. The forum also had a very popular and long-running thread dedicated to clothing bargains, with links to online stores, eBay and online discount clubs. Forum users often replied with thanks and indicated that they had just purchased the item from the store that had been hyperlinked to. In this manner, the act of shopping itself was interwoven into day-to-day use of the forum, structuring the subcultural experience. There was a back-and-forth between the forum and online shops, with forum users commenting on the items as they digitally browsed them and then describing their purchases. When purchases arrived in the post, forum users would share their opinions on the garments' fit and quality.

While Modforum's members were primarily British, there were users from all corners of the globe participating in its asynchronous discussions.[71] This was consistent with Christine Jacqueline Feldman's observation that in the contemporary Mod scene, the internet helps bind together members of a subculture who are dispersed throughout the world.[72] The geographic location of retailers was not an issue for users. International shipping was a recurring topic on Modforum, with users offering to serve as 'proxies' for one another. When online stores did not offer international shipping or when import duties were prohibitive, users would receive other users' packages domestically then post the good internationally. This was done in the spirit of (online) community for no personal gain.

The sociologist Rob Shields argues that consumption is now a leisure activity, with the boundary between sites of consumption and leisure having become blurred under postmodernism.[73] It was clear from my observations that participation on Modforum was a leisure activity for its users and that as a result of the forum's intertextuality, consumption practices were completely enmeshed within forum use. It appears that in the case of virtual sites of leisure and consumption, the line between the two is non-existent. Shields also writes that 'Consumption for adornment, expression and group solidarity becomes not merely the means to a lifestyle, but the enactment of a lifestyle,' making consumption a spectacle framed by the looks of others.[74] This provides a useful framework for understanding the visual aspects of consumption practices observed on the forum.

According to Modforum's statistics console, the second-most popular topic was 'What I Bought Today,' where forum users discussed their most recent clothing purchases. Photographs from online shops were posted so that other users could see the items in question. When no photographs were available online, forum users would take photographs of the items and upload the images themselves. In this manner, the forum became a sort of digital gallery of fashion commodities, with users gazing upon detailed photographic documentation of garments. Photographs verged on the

fetishistic at times, with users posting a series of photographs displaying all facets of a garment or documenting the moment a new garment was removed from its packaging. Users' descriptions of purchases reflected the sheer joy that they found in shopping, with statements such as 'just beautiful shoes,' 'these beauties,' 'clean and classy,' 'love it!' and 'couldn't be more pleased.' It would seem that with online shopping individualising and privatising the experience of consumption, Modforum users were driven to describe and display their shopping on the forum to recapture the spectacle of shopping. In order for online consumption practices to enact subcultural lifestyle and maintain group solidarity in the same way as traditional consumption practices, they had to be discussed online for the benefit of other subculture members (Image 4). Subcultural fashion, once closely associated with public space, had moved from street to screen.

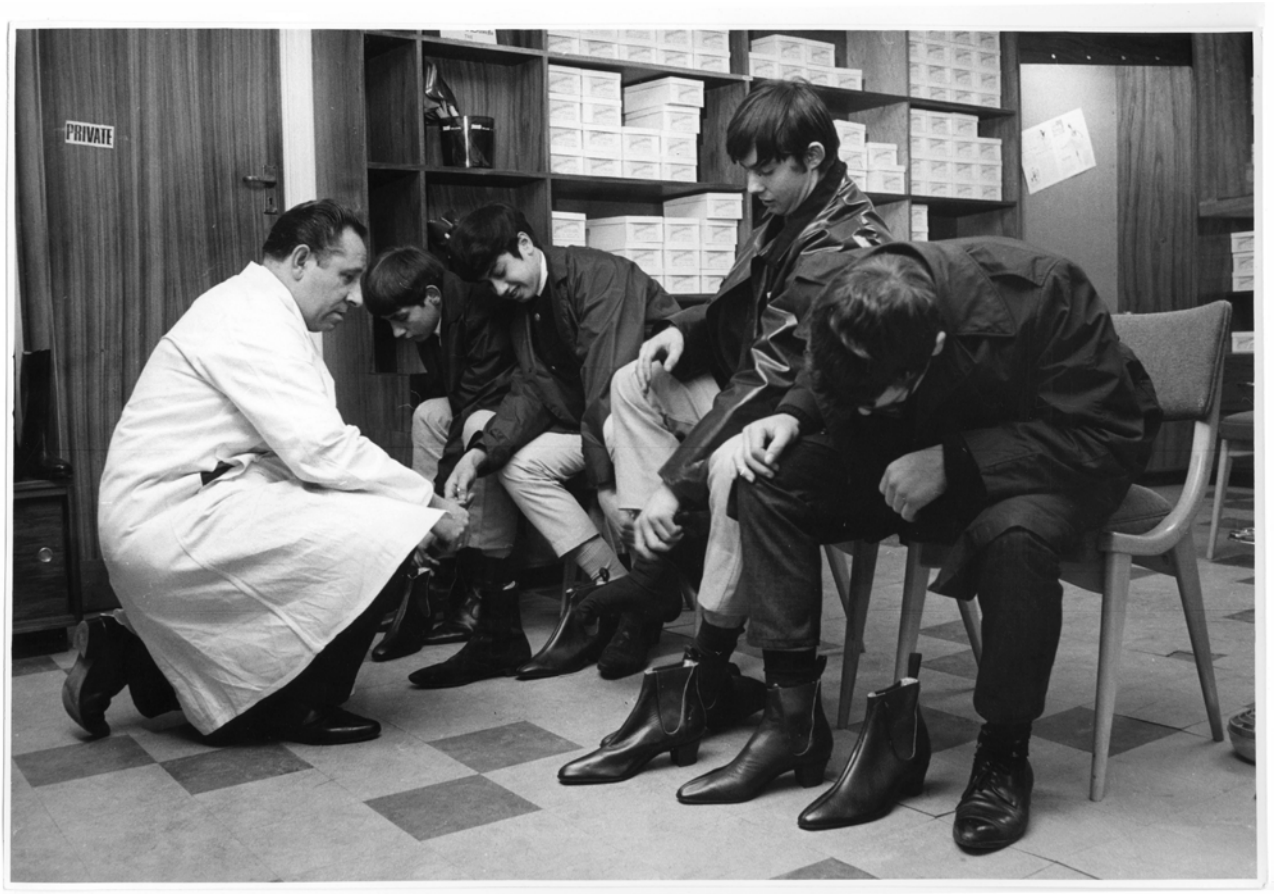

Image 4: 'Mods' try on Beatle boots at Annello and David, 1965, courtesy of Museum of London

8. Mod Masculinity

A major critique of the research carried out on subcultures at the CCCS was that its focus on young men rendered female subculture members invisible.[75] I had hoped to redress this invisibility with my own research, but it turned out that Modforum's users were overwhelmingly male. According to the forum's statistics console, the male to female ratio was nearly 4 to 1, and as female Mods rarely posted on the forum, the dominance of male subculture members in the discussions created an impression of an even more unequal gender ratio. In the 'Clothes and Fashion' section, women's clothing was almost never discussed and women rarely participated. There seemed to be an unspoken understanding that the forum was dedicated to *Men's* 'Clothes and Fashion,' a reversal of the gendering typically connoted by the term 'fashion.'[76]

This gender imbalance was revealing in itself, considering that a key facet of the forum was the discussion of fashion commodities and shopping. At 900 pages long, the most popular topic on the forum was the thread called 'What Are You Wearing?' where forum users viewed and commented on photographs of each other's outfits. Unlike the candid photographs one sees posted on social networking sites, these photographs were quite deliberately posed, usually in the bedroom, lounge or garden of users' homes. From the discussions of how to best make use of a digital camera's timer and the number of photographs taken in front of full-length mirrors, it was obvious that in most cases, the photographs were self-portraits. The poses had an affected appearance, mimicking those found in catalogues and men's magazines; chests were puffed, eyes stared into the distance, one leg was placed slightly in front of the other. By all accounts, peacockery has always been an important part of the Mod subculture, but posing for photographs and then

uploading then to the internet for strangers to look at is most certainly an intensification of Mod narcissism.[77] Digital photography provided new, more direct and individualised ways of being seen. These practices, along with users' passion for consuming fashion commodities, diverged from dominant notions of heteronormative masculinity, suggesting the adoption of the 'new man' masculinity described by Sean Nixon.[78]

Nixon argues that 'new man' masculinity resulted from the diffusion of homosexual stylistic self-consciousness into segments of male heterosexual culture during the 1980s. This 'new man' masculinity encouraged men to take pleasure in the male form and its adornment, integrating them more fully into consumer society.[79] Nixon describes how this form of masculinity functions through narcissism and gaze,[80] two practices I observed throughout Modforum's 'What are you wearing' thread. Nixon also employs a dual-articulation of the term 'the look' to describe both the look that men strive for and the looks of admiration they direct towards other men.[81] Putting themselves in front of the virtual gaze of others allowed Modforum users to get recognition for their authentic subcultural looks. Modforum users also appeared to find a great deal of enjoyment in the looks they directed towards these digital photographs of men. Any posts on the 'What Are You Wearing?' thread not accompanied by a photo were met with exhortations to post one. Although some comments were critical, most were positive and used language like 'very smart,' 'brilliant look,' 'dapper combo,' 'lovely suit,' 'lush,' 'Not my style but I like it on you,' 'all of you looking good' and 'your posts are a joy.'

There is a sexual ambivalence to Sean Nixon's notion of 'the look' that is of particular interest to the cultural historian Frank Mort. He describes how as a result of the rise of the 'new man,' the 'homosexual gaze' once used by gay men to interpret stylistic cues for cruising has become a 'homosocial gaze' shared between heterosexual men, whereby 'looks of recognition [are] also fixed on mutual displays of admiration, coded through the discourse of style.'[82] Mort describes how the new forms of masculinity structuring the 'homosocial gaze' allow heterosexual men to admire other men and their outfits without their sexuality coming into question.[83] This concept of the homosocial gaze is useful for understanding the mediated looks that Modforum users directed at photographs of other men on their computer screens. At the same time, Mort provides a theoretical framework for considering the sexual ambivalence of Modforum users' Mod masculinity. Along with the passion for clothing that characterised the forum, there was a great deal of importance placed on appearance in general, with discussion topics including male haircuts, personal fitness and even manicures. Modforum members used both self-depreciating humour and heterosexist remarks to reconcile what some would consider 'effeminate' or 'gay' attributes with their own heterosexual identities. In a thread where a user asked what he should wear on a first date, one user quipped 'Don't tell her that you post pictures of yourself on the internet for other men to look at.' Similarly, in a thread about matching belt colour to shoe colour, one forum user joked about making sure that the colour also matched his handbag.

Less frequently, users made assertions of heteronormative masculinity, such as referring to the men in a *GQ* article on 'Britain's Best Dressed Men as 'poofs' and 'nancy-boys.' As the sociologist Tim Edwards notes, masculinity is performative and dependent on both the prohibition and possibility of homosexuality.[84] In any case, homophobia was the exception rather than the rule and such language was not usually tolerated. Generally, Modforum users were unapologetic about those aspects of their subcultural identity that others might consider effeminate and, like the Mods of the 1960s,[85] most were unperturbed by the subculture's potential for sexual ambivalence. One forum user commented that 'I was called an iron [homosexual] a lot when i was a teenager .its inevitable really if your interested in clothes in male company that so obviously isn't' Containing equal part narcissism and bluster, another user's rhetorical question 'do you care? No! its good to be noticed' seemed to sum up perfectly the male Mods' attitude towards the sexual ambivalence of their subcultural identity.

9. Conclusion

In this article I have discussed the findings of a study of the virtual research site Modforum. While users of the site represent only a subsection of the contemporary Mod subculture, Modforum nevertheless provided a valuable insight into the internal dynamics of the modern-day Mod subculture. I have described how Modforum users employed fashion commodities to construct authentic subcultural identities; for these members of the Mod subculture, the consumption of fashion commodities lay at the heart of the subcultural experience. I have also explored the forms of masculinity reflected both in this process and in users' mediated displays of their subcultural outfits. While the CCCS posited that subcultural participation was dependent on age and class, it turned out that in the case of Modforum, participation was dependent on commitment to subcultural identity, expressed through dress. The older members of this inter-generational, cross-class grouping of individuals did not conform to age-expectations; they inhabited what I have termed 'subcultural time.' Their concern with authenticity and subcultural commitment ran counter to post-subcultural suggestions that subcultures have been obliterated by the pastiche of postmodernism.

The centrality of consumption and mediated stylisation on the predominantly-male Modforum raises new research questions. Over the course of my virtual ethnography, the internet's intertextuality led me to discover that neither the mediated admiration of men's outfits, nor the integration of online consumption into computer-mediated leisure, are the sole purview of the Mod subculture. It turns out that there are a range of online forums dedicated to detailed discussion of men's clothing. These forums, and their implications for the study of fashion, consumption and masculinity, are the subject of my current research.

Notes

[1] Ted Polhemus, *Streetstyle* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 131.
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[3] Christine Jacqueline Feldman, *We Are the Mods: A Transnational History of a Youth Subculture* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2009), 3, 52-55, 102
[4] For further discussion of privacy issues in online research see Michael V. Angrosino, 'Recontextualizing Observation: Ethnography, Pedagogy, and the Prospects for a Progressive Political Agenda,' in *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, eds. Norman Denzim and Yvonna Lincoln (London: Sage, 2003), 161-184; S. Elizabeth Bird and Jessica Barber. 'Constructing a Virtual Ethnography,' in *Doing Cultural Anthropology*, ed. Michael V. Angrosino (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 2002), 129-137; Malin Sveningsson Elm, 'How Do Various Notions Privacy Influence Decisions in Qualitative Research?' in *Internet Inquiry: Conversations about Method*, eds. Annette. N. Markham and Nancy K. Baym (London: Sage, 2009), 69-97; Luciano Paccagnella, 'Getting the Seats of Your Pants Dirty: Strategies for Ethnographic Research on Virtual Communities,' *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 3, no.1 (1997): doi: 10.1111/j.1083-6101.1997.tb00065.
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[7] Thomas R. Lindlof and Milton J. Shatzer, 'Media Ethnography in Virtual Space: Strategies, Limits and Possibilities,' *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 42, no.2 (1998): 170-189.
[8] Chamberlin, '"Pin-up Punks," 189-202.
[9] Farid Chenoune, *A History of Men's Fashion* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993), 229-234; Ted Polhemus, *Streetstyle* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 33-37.
[10] Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 54-57.
[11] Richard Barnes, *Mods!* (London: Eel Pie, 1979), 8-11; Chenoune, *A History of Men's Fashion*, 251–259; Feldman, *We Are the Mods*, 19-21; Paul Gorman, *The Look: Adventures in Rock & Pop Fashion* (London: Adelita Press, 2006), 34-39, 60-65; Terry Rawlings, *Mod: Clean Living Under Difficult Circumstances - A Very British Phenomenon* (London: Omnibus Press, 2000), 11-47.
[12] Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 39.
[13] For a more in-depth exploration of the connection between Mod, modernism and modernity see Feldman, *We Are the Mods*.
[14] Chenoune, *A History of Men's Fashion*, 257-259; Shaun Cole, *Don We Now Our Gay Apparel: Gay Men's Dress in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Berg, 2000), 71-78; Barnes, *Mods!*, 10, 15; Feldman, *We are the Mods*, 26-27; George Melly, *Revolt into Style* (London: Allen Lane), 150; Rawlings, *Mod*, 50.
[15] Barnes, *Mods!*, 123-128; Rawlings, *Mod*, 66-83.
[16] Nik Cohn, 'Yellow Socks are Out,' in *The Sharper World: A Mod Anthology*, ed. Paolo Hewitt (London: Helter Skelter Publishing, 1999), 17-21; Paolo Hewitt, *Soul Stylists: Six Decades of Modernism – From Mods to Casuals* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2003), 89-114; Rawlings, *Mod*, 11-63.
[17] Ibid., 8-11; Gorman, *The Look*, 34-39, 60-65.
[18] John Clarke, 'Style,' in *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain*, eds. Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (London: Hutchinson Press, 1976), 187.

[19] Barnes, *Mods!*, 12-15.
[20] Dick Hebdige, 'The Meaning of Mod,' in *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain*, eds. Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (London: Hutchinson Press, 1976), 87.
[21] Chenoune, *A History of Men's Fashion*, 254; Nick Knight, *Skinhead* (London: Omnibus Press), 9-10; Melly, *Revolt into Style*, 127-128.
[22] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Routledge, 1979), 25-26.
[23] Shane Blackman, *Youth: Positions and Oppositions* (Aldershot: Avesbury Press, 1995), 9-10; David Moore, *The Lads in Action* (Aldershot: Arena Press, 1994), 11-12; Rawlings, *Mod*, 159-201; Enamel Verguren, *This is a Modern Life* (London: Helter Skelter Publishing, 2004).
[24] Feldman, *We are the Mods*, 39-41, 43-51, 86-94.
[25] Stanley Cohen, *Folk Devils & Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and Rockers*, 2nd ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980).
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[27] Hebdige, *Subculture.* Paul Willis, *Profane Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978).
[28] John Clarke, et al., 'Subcultures, Cultures and Class: A Theoretical Overview,' in *Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain*, eds. Stuart Hall and Tony Jefferson (London: Hutchinson Press, 1976), 9-71.
[29] Ibid., 44.
[30] Ibid., 35-52.
[31] Dennis Dworkin, *Cultural Marxism in Postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the Origins of Cultural Studies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 78-80, 124-166.
[32] Clarke, 'Style,'175-191.
[33] Clarke et al., 'Subcultures, Cultures and Class,' 52-57.
[34] Hebdige, 'The Meaning of Mod,' 88-94.
[35] Clarke, 'Style,'177-179.
[36] John Clarke et. al, 'Subcultures, Cultures and Class,' 52-57. Hebdige, '*Subculture*,' 105.
[37] Hebdige, '*Subculture*,' 52.
[38] Clarke et al., 'Subcultures, Cultures and Class,' 45-52.
[39] Clarke, 'Style,' 185-191.
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[41] Gary Clarke, 'Defending Ski-Jumpers: A Critique of Theories of Youth Subcultures,' in *On Record: Rock, Pop, and the Written Word*, eds. Simon Frith and Andrew Goodwin, (London: Routledge, 1990), 68-80.
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[46] Andy Brown, 'Rethinking the Subcultural Commodity: The Case of Heavy Metal T-shirt Culture(s)' in *Youth Cultures: Scenes, Subcultures and Tribes*, ed. Paul Hodkinson, P. and Wolfgang Deicke (London: Routledge, 2007), 63-78.
[47] Ibid., 67.
[48] Paul Hodkinson, *Goth: Identity, Style and Subculture* (Oxford, Berg, 2002), 149.
[49] Rupert Weinzierl and David Muggleton, 'What is 'Post-subcultural Studies' Anyway?' in *The Post-Subcultures Reader*, eds. David Muggleton and Rupert Weinzierl (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 3-17.
[50] Andy Bennett, 'Subcultures or Neo-Tribe? Rethinking the Relationship between Youth, Style and Musical Taste.' *Sociology* 33, no.3 (1999): 600.
[51] Polhemus, *Streetstyle*, 130-134.
[52] It should also be noted that the CCCS do not have a monopoly on the tern 'subculture.'
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[54] Thornton, *Club Cultures*, 12.
[55] Rupa Huq, *Beyond Subculture: Pop, Youth and Identity in a Postcolonial World* (London: Routledge, 2006), 157.
[56] Andy Bennett and Paul Hodkinson, eds., *Ageing and Youth Cultures: Music, Style and Identity* (Oxford: Berg, 2012); Hodkinson's *Goth. Identity, Style and Subculture* mentions ageing in the Goth subculture, but only in passing.
[57] Janice Miller, *Fashion and Music* (Oxford: Berg, 2011), 98-99.
[58] Feldman, *We Are the Mods*, 44, 54, 92.
[59] Ibid., 95.
[60] Judith Halberstam, *In a Queer Time & Place* (New York: New York University Press, 2005), 152-187.

[61] See, for instance, Jessica Mills, *My Mother Wears Combat Boots: A Parenting Guide for the Rest of Us* (Oakland: AK Press, 2008) and China Martens, *Future Generation: The Zine-Book for Subculture Parents, Kids, Friends, and Others* (Baltimore: Atomic Book Company, 2007).
[62] See, for instance, Janice Miller's discussion of the tabloids and Madonna in *Fashion and Music*, 103-107.
[63] Hebdige, *Subculture*, 52.
[64] Muggleton, *Inside Subculture*, 33-54
[65] Thornton, *Club Cultures*, 10-14.
[66] Charles Baudelaire, 'The Painter of Modern Life,' in *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, ed. and trans. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon Press, 1996), 26-29; Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (London: Virago Press, 1985), 180-184.
[67] Georg Simmel, 'Fashion,' *International Quarterly* 10: 130–143.
[68] Hebdige, *Subculture*, 52.
[69] Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams*, 183-184.
[70] Brown, 'Rethinking the Subcultural Commodity,' 63-78; Hodkinson, *Goth*, 131-152; McRobbie, 'Second Hand Dresses...,' 23-49.
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[74] Ibid., 16.
[75] Angela McRobbie, 'Settling Accounts with Subcultures: A Feminist Critique,' *Screen Education* 39 (1980): 37-49.
[76] Edwards, *Fashion in Focus*, 41.
[77] See Hewitt, 89-114; Rawlings, *Mod*, 49-63; Verguren, *This is a Modern Life.*
[78] Sean Nixon, *Hard Looks* (London: University College London Press, 1996), 1-46.
[79] Ibid. For more on the expansion of men's fashion see also Tim Edwards, *Fashion in Focus: Concepts, Practices and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2011), 41-66; Tim Edwards, *Men in the Mirror: Men's Fashion, Masculinity and Consumer Society* (London: Cassell, 1997); Colin McDowell, *The Man of Fashion: Peacock Males and Perfect Gentlemen* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997); Suzanne Moore, 'Getting a Bit of the Other – the Pimps of Postmodernism,' in *Male Order: Unwrapping Masculinity*, eds. Rowena Chapman and Jonathan Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1988), 165-192.
[80] Sean Nixon, *Hard Looks*, 1-46.
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